1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear."

Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire).

A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath.

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* (regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army.

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

> Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian term said to signify "underneath."

The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's (according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

house of their god. Thereafter they were buried. Mariner's description (40) indicates that enemy dead were presented as offerings to the gods.

The slaughter of male prisoners, even of those wounded, seems to have been frequent and Mariner gives instances. Near Pea, Tongatabu, is a tract, Fakaveleatenge, named in commemoration of a killing which took place at the order of the war leader Takai. Some of Takai's men had been foraging and decoyed a body of the enemy into a fight, perhaps an ambush. Some of the enemy wounded were brought to a house on the tract mentioned and there slain.

The following quotations from Wilson (66, p. xlvii) refer to the state of the country when Tasman and Cook visited it.

> No weapons were seen by Tasman at Tongataboo; which circumstance, as well as their unsuspicious conduct toward strangers so formidably equipped, indicates that they had been accustomed to a state of general peace and security. No quarrel occurred during this interview; and the Dutch, after having obtained abundance of provisions, but very little water, proceeded to the adjacent islands to the northward.

In Cook's time "weapons of a very formidable nature were then found among them, although they usually went unarmed. Their spears were barbed in a very dangerous manner and their clubs very curiously carved."

In Mariner's time warfare had become general and weapons were much in evidence. In addition to clubs and spears, bows and arrows were then used, which seem likely to be an adaptation from Fiji, rather than a fundamental Polynesian weapon the use of which survived only in Tonga.

A short text about the two great matapule, Maliepo (Lauaki) and Molofaha (Motuapuaka) refers to weapons as follows:

> And if the land is dark (at war), then Maliepo and Molofaha will speak to the regiments in case they come along with their burdens, the spear with stingray barb (*taofai*), the headed spear (*taotala*), the owl-headed club (*salulu*), the eight-faced club or eight-barbed spear (*liknvalu*), the paddle-shaped club (*moungalaulau*), the club (*tui tapavalu*), and the toothed club (*nifoon*).

Holes (*luoto*) with pointed stakes at the bottom were dug in trails along which it was thought enemies might approach.

WAR STORIES

The following campaign stories obtained from the lips of modern informants and from manuscripts are arranged so far as possible in chronologic order. The fighting in the period between the assassination of the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho in 1799 and the appointment of his son Tupoutoa in 1812 is not included because already covered by other writers. The following accounts deal chiefly with the campaigns of Tupoutoa and his son Taufaahau, who was appointed Tui Kanokupolu in 1845, and later became King George I.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

[1812 - 1845]

them to Tonga and Haapai and appointed a ruler there; but Tupoutoa was the king over all and he came and dwelt at Haapai. After a short time Tonga rose up and the different chiefs of the different forts united. The chief Takai was the strongest so he ruled. After a little while he became ill and died, and his brother Fae ruled in his place. The chiefs of the forts, Pea, Houma, Nukualofa, Hule, Kolofoou, Vaini, and Fuaamotu and some others were still in union. Tupoutoa brought the warriors of Vavau and went and again fought Tonga. That battle was fought at Pea. The king moved and dwelt at Ango and kept on the fight against Pea. It is said if they had been at a distance from each other they would have been overcome, but because they were so near, the people of Pea were like lions fighting.

There were some Europeans with the king and his army and they told him how to make European guns by splitting the nut trees and hollowing them out; then putting in gun powder to shoot into the earth fortification of the fort, so that it would slide and then the warriors would be able to enter the fort. It was done. There were three vessels with the Talinofo, the vessel of Haano. They did a lot of work. They tied them as is done in the making of the fence of a fort, so as to be strong when the shots came from the fort. They tried to undermine the fortifications. The people in the fort tied reeds and coconut pods together and set fire to them and threw them so that the sappers were burned and were not able to undermine the fortifications. If it had not been for this they might have succeeded.

One vessel which was not firmly fastened was almost drawn into the fort. There was a gun in the fort and the chief Otumuku of Haano was wounded by it in the face and died. That chief was the strong man of that band of warriors. He was brought away and Fuapau commanded that he be taken to Haano. He was taken in his canoe by the brave Mohuniu and that took away many people to do it. Then the vessel returned to Tonga. And it is said that the siege by vessel continued because the use of the vessel was drawing it to plant fences in a line. In one battle there was a party of Pea warriors lying in ambush and when returning they met the scouts of the king's warriors from Haapai, who killed the brave warrior from Pea of whose bravery they boasted. His name was Fakahau (like a king). He was killed by Longani (*longa*, a resting place; *ni*, this). And there was another brave warrior named Tuuiahau who was very swift footed. For the least thing he would club a person. He was killed by the warrior Telasili. Many were killed from the army of Pea. And when Tupoutoa saw that so many of the famous warriors of the fort were killed, he ended the war. He made peace with the enemy, but it was not a true peace, because neither side was beaten.

The king's army was disbanded and some went to Vavau and some to Haapai; and the king brought his vessels and drew them up at Mua. The Tui Kanokupolu was taken sick and lay down and continued to get worse, so he commanded that he should be taken to Maufanga, the city of refuge, and he and his attendants removed there. He knew perhaps that he was dying for he sent privately to the chiefs of his party who were at Mua for them to draw down the vessels into the sea. It was done, and the vessels were launched, but they were afraid that there would be war. As soon as the vessels were launched they loaded at once, as he had sent word that they were to go to Pangaimotu. It looked as though he knew the time that he would leave this world. He sent word that a small canoe was to be sent for him, and it came towards evening. He was taken at once to the canoe and few knew whether he died at Maufanga or in the canoe or at Pangaimotu. This occurred in 1820.

And I would say that Tupoutoa did this out of love for his people lest they should be held at Tonga if it became known that he was dead. He did this so that his people could get away to Haapai. Then word was sent to Tonga that Tupoutoa was dead. Then all the vessels came and anchored at once. One army came from Hihifo. They came to carry down Tupoutoa's body, but when they arrived all was ready and the chiefs thanked them for coming and told them to return to Hihifo as they would take Tupoutoa's corpse to Uiha themselves. And it was reported that [the people of] Tonga would come, but they only came for the ceremony of preparing cooked coconuts for their dead king, whom they were taking away; but the people

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

a vessel arrived from Haapai to tell Finau and Taufaahau of the marriage of Halaevaiu Mataaho (Taufaahau's sister) to Tui Haa Teiho. That seemed to show the ill feeling of Ulukalala because he would not let a good vessel, or anyone as sent from him, go to the feast. But Taufaahau went in the Lofanga vessel that had brought the news. He went in the small vessel called Fungahaafuluhao and they were Ulukalala's own relations, Matetau and Fakatulolo and some others who accompanied him. Ulakai came from Tonga with two vessels with a great number of people. All Haapai assembled at Tungua for the ceremony. After that the people of Vavau were sent back, but Taufaahau remained at Haapai and dwelt at Pangai, Lifuka. 173 669 726

It was apparent that Taufaahau's disposition or ability was not hidden from these two groups. If we refer to ancient games, there was no one like him. At all the games of the different entertainments he was the best, the handsomest, and the most ready to perform. The Tui Tonga [Laufilitonga, who was actually not yet Tui Tonga] dwelt with a great number of people in his fort of Velata, Lifuka, and strengthened it. It was awful the way that Taufaahau and his few people were treated. Taufaahau could not stand it so he went to war. Foa Island sided with the Tui Tonga and the warriors of the Tui Tonga acted discreetly. They were afraid lest Taufaahau's warriors would rush upon Fangaleounga, Foa, so they therefore sent a *tokaikolo* (person familiar with the place) there. That night Taufaahau's warriors forded over Makapulepule (the reef connecting Lifuka and Foa islands), and lay in ambush outside the fort till it was dawn. When it was nearly dawn they climbed over the fence and killed the people in the fort. The *tokaikolo* was also killed. Many escaped and were saved, but many were killed. They burnt the fort and returned to Lifuka. 173 725 726 669

After that they sat and watched each other, the Tui Tonga in the fortress Velata and Taufaahau's warriors at Pangai, Lifuka. At this time Taufaahau was appointed Tui Haapai. Suddenly the warriors of the Tui Tonga from Velata made a rush, thinking to storm the fort of Tui Haapai at Pangai. They came one day at noon. It was a big army, as nearly all Haapai was there. Tui Haapai's warriors tried to withstand them. The battle raged and they shouted from the seaside of the fort that they were nearly overcome and Taufaahau went to their assistance and turned out the enemy. A little while after they shouted from the land side of the fort that they were nearly overcome and he rushed to their assistance. Others shouted from different places. Taufaahau always went to their assistance. Just like a god was Taufaahau in this battle, in his fighting for his fort. They fought till night and the fort was not taken, but the enemy seized Taufaahau's vessels and said, "We will leave the taking of the fort till tomorrow morning." But that night Taufaahau sent a vessel to Malupo at Uiha with a message, saying, "Here am I left alone. I expect the fighting to be renewed at dawn." The warriors came that night and in the morning the fort was in an excited state for war. The enemy thought they had received reinforcements, as there seemed a great number in the fort and a gun shot was heard. But it was only Taufaahau's little army of the day before. They were few and had no guns, but he was able to withstand the army of the Tui Tonga, although they were many and had guns. The first man to be shot was Malu and he died. Then they [the Tui Tonga's troops] knew that Taufaahau's troops were in the fort, as there was a European gun. They all retreated, taking shelter behind big *puko* trees. They kept shouting for the garrison to come outside the fence and the garrison shouted in return for them to come into the fort. They kept up the fighting from outside, but it was no use. And at last it was known to the warriors from Tungua, Nomuka, Haafeva, and Lofanga islands and they entered Taufaahau's fort as reinforcements. Now Velata began to get into difficulties. [411] [411] [177]

Ulukalala at Vavau heard that there was war and they (he and the chiefs) consulted together to put an end to the war. And Taufaahau and Laufilitonga agreed and the war ended. Finau said that Taufaahau was to be Tui Haapai (ruler of Haapai) and that Haapai was to be his, but he was to be peaceful and go and dwell at Uiha and the other islands and leave the Tui Tonga to dwell at Lifuka, 173 728 669

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812-1845]

assembled at the seashore to receive them, but Taufaahau's side had arranged before they came that should there be any shooting they would not stop the paddling and the pushing of the canoes, but would continue till they reached the shore. They came and the army on shore fired on the army in the vessels. Some were killed but they continued. Taufaahau's vessel backed to the land and his warriors landed and chased Laufilitonga's troops, who scattered. A man called Mealkaifolau (food for the voyagers) killed the first one and then they killed and chased the fugitives till they reached Velata. The fugitives entered the fort in confusion. 173 669 726

While the army of Taufaahau was still in disorder, two chiefs from Foa came down with their band of warriors. They attacked Taufaahau's army on the flank. The dead floated in the sea. Another part of Taufaahau's army surrounded the warriors from Foa, and killed many of them. They nearly exterminated them, but the two chiefs were good leaders and led the small remainder to Laufilitonga's fort. Night came and Taufaahau's army withdrew and slept at Pangai. Next morning Taufaahau and his vessels went to Foa to see if the people wanted war. If they did then they should die. Anyone wishing to live must not fight. When they arrived they found that all Foa had assembled at Faleloa and Taufaahau wished them to be allowed to live. That report was taken to Haano, that the Foa people were not to be killed. The same was done there (Haano). Whoever wanted to die was to prepare to fight and who wanted to live was to remain peaceful. The vessels went and anchored at Kanokano and Tui Haa Ngana (chief of Haano) sued for pardon for himself and his people. But Taufaahau's warriors wished to continue the fight and not to grant the pardon. Tuita, a chief in Foa, sued for mercy from Taufaahau, that they might live. He asked Taufaahau to remember how Fuapau and Otunuku had sworn to live and die for Tupoutoa (Taufaahau's father, who was buried at Uiha), when he made war on Vavau, and also on Tonga. And Taufaahau through his love pardoned them. And those from the vessel and those that had been pardoned went to Malae Kilikili where a fort had been built. The barricade was made of coconut trunks, breadfruit trees, papau trees, banana trunks, etc. They starved out the fort. There were many European guns at this fort, and many of Taufaahau's people were killed and wounded by the guns, because they would try to dodge in front of the guns. After a while there was a battle and a chief, who was a brave warrior of the fort, came out with his men. His name was Fangupo and they fought with Taufaahau's warriors. He was speared by a man called Paul Tapu. He was taken into the fort and died of his wounds. And Taufaahau wished the war to cease because Fangupo was wounded, but no one came out of the fort. After the burial of the young chief, the warriors came out. The Tui Tonga told them to go out and leave the fort, and they did so. Each man went to his own relations, and the Tui Tonga came to the fort [Velata?] and had it levelled, and there was peace. [725] [411] [177]

Sometime later Ulukalala arrived with all the Vavau vessels. It is not known whose side he would have joined had he arrived while the fort was still standing, but when he arrived the fort had been taken and nothing more was done. And Finau (Ulukalala) said for the Tui Tonga to go with him to Vavau. Taufaahau said that the Chief (Tui Tonga) was to please himself what he did. If he wished to go to Vavau it was all right, or if he wished to remain it was all right. He (the Tui Tonga) wished to go with Ulukalala and he went and a great number of people went with him. The man Maheuliuli who was always wanting war went with him. The people of Haapai remained. Since then Haapai has been deserted and Taufaahau the only ruler. [Laufilitonga may not yet have been appointed Tui Tonga, though so referred to.]

After all this had transpired Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) sent Lausii in the vessel called Vahaafonua (Between lands) with all the brave warriors to Kaufana at Eua with a present from him. The ruler of Eua received them kindly and they were there two or three nights. Then they went to Tonga. When they arrived there Nukualofa was being fortified. They went and helped with the digging of the fortifications. A report went forth that the Haapai warriors had come. After the fortifications were

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1812 - 1845]

landed the wind blew like a hurricane and in the morning they looked out and saw a vessel anchored at Tufaka. They poled their vessel there, as they thought that it was the Tui Haapai's ship. But it was only Paul Halaevalu's vessel. Then they poled the two vessels from Muifonua (Land's-end) to Nukualofa. By now it had become calm. 173 669 726

Unexpectedly Veikume and Taufavaivai arrived from Vavau in the vessel called Tunulousi, so the vessels from Haapai and Vavau all came in one after the other. The army was prepared for the Hihifo campaign. They went and beseiged the fort of Hihifo and the people in the fort remained inside, while the armies remained separate. Some scouts from the Vavau army went out. One Haapai man called Soko, the son of Tahifisi, went with them. There were some people that came out of the fort. Among them was a very big man whom Soko killed. We heard them calling "Fight," as the place where we were was not very far away. We said, "It is with the Lord," as Taufaahau's army were Christians. There was a fight and a brave warrior called Tavalu rushed and beat upon the gate of the fort and the army surrounded it. Meanwhile the enemy remained inside. No one seemed to wish to come outside. Tui Haapai (Taufaahau) told the warriors not to wait till they saw a man before firing, but when a hand was seen to fire, or a foot was seen to fire, or any other part of the body was seen to fire. Fire at anything seen above the mud fortifications. This was how the fort was treated. They came to make peace from Foui, and when they arrived the inmates of the fort did not fire, but stood round the fortification fence and talked of their strength. In the evening Tui Haapai told the warriors to go and surround the fort. Lest some should escape, he divided his forces, so that there was a watch till daylight and he told them should there be any deserters not to kill them. This was a very good idea. If it had not been for this the people of the fort would have escaped during the night. Any person coming singly they tied alive. There came out of Ata's fort a man and woman to flee, but when they got outside they saw that the fort was surrounded and so they returned into the fort. Only Vahai and a very few escaped. They came and looked about for any place where there was no sentry, then they fled at that point and went to Houma. At daybreak the army entered the fort but no one was killed. Ata and Papa and all the people of the fort were taken alive. Tui Haapai commanded that none should be killed. Ata and Papa's goods were not taken and only a very few things were lost. There has never been a chief in Tonga from the olden times that had war like that, in which he saved the lives of the conquered and gave them back their goods. Their lives were saved and their goods returned. In former times should the enemy live their goods were confiscated by the victor. (The people of Haapai and Vavau were Christians and now they had taken from the heathen their bread.) Some youths stole, but it was not the wish of Taufaahau. Each went with his friend by the command of Ata and Papa to Nukualofa and that ended that war. As Mua was not in it or Houma, but only Hihifo, it was the war of Ata and Vahai. [725] 173 669 726 727

Then the chiefs of Haapai and Vavau were told to return, but Tui Haapai and a few remained at Tonga, lest there be another disturbance of the peace like the war of Hihifo. Houma collected Hihifo's fishing canoes at the weather shore. It was not known who smashed them, but they thought that it was Houma that did it. 173 669 726

The Hihifo people waited and planned a war on Houma. Taufahema, that brave warrior who was said to have died at Malama of the wounds that he had received on his face, still lived, and it was he that came and fought for Hihifo at Foui. He came in contact with the army of Houma and was shot as though it was a planned assassination. Then the Hihifo army was chased and Peter Ahomee was caught and taken alive to Houma with some others. That war did not last long, as Taufaahau did not like having war stirred up like that. It was done while Taufaahau was away at Vavau and the report that was brought to him was that the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou was dying. He sailed back, calling at Haapai. When he arrived at Tonga, the king was dead, having died on November 18, 1845. After the funeral the chiefs of Tonga waited for the coming of Taufaahau to appoint 173 643

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1832]

"Taufaahau from Haapai," was the reply. Then they twirled their clubs and said,

"Oh, we thought they were the ships from Fiji."

And we sailed on into the anchorage at Neiafutahi, Vavau, and anchored there where Finau was. And we sent to make peace with the Otea fort. Moheofo and Tui Haapai were the peacemakers, and the people (of Otea) destroyed their vessel. The chiefs Luani, Siaakafoa, and Taukeilaolao were sent with them to Neiafu. Taufaahau told Finau not to let these chiefs return, but to hold them. This was done. Taukeilaolao and Teu were brought to us to guard, while the others were taken to Finau to guard. And early next morning we all assembled at Ngaunoho and the army was addressed by Taufaahau. Taufaahau and I jumped on shore while the troops all prepared, stayed in the boats. Taufaahau went and spoke to the army in the presence of Finau, while the Vavau (army) was present. After he had spoken to the army then I said, "Let us pray." After that we went on board the vessel and sailed for Otea. And when we drew near we saw a party of warriors lying in wait on the main road. We raised our guns, but did not fire. We sailed along the shore to their fort. Our vessels anchored and we disembarked our troops. Finau told Taufaahau to go to the fort and ask Lua what were his wishes. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] went and took shelter behind a big tree called *fotulona* and spoke from there and said, "Finau has sent us to tell you, for you to have love and not to be wrongly advised by your sons," and Lua answered,

"Man, why are you so unkind to me? Why don't you come and take me, your father (term of affection), to Haapai?"

And Taufaahau replied, "When did you tell me to? I came and anchored at that island; why did you not send a message for me to come, and take you to Haapai and I would have done so?"

Then Lua answered, "Come here, you unkind man."

Taufaahau replied, "I would like to come, but you might not be able to protect me from your sons, so I will speak to you from here." And we kept on carrying messages between Finau and Lua till it was dark, then we slept; and early in the morning word was brought that fighting had begun on land, as the people from the fort were pushing on the advance lines of the Haapai warriors. And we [Taufaahau and Peter Vi] ran at once there. When we reached there, he said, "If there is any one that wishes to fire, then fire." After that he said, "You go into the fort till Ulukalala and Lua have arranged matters for their friends, and if it cannot be arranged then you young men of the fort come out to us young men and we will fight it out."

Just then a man from Ngutu shouted out, "Yes! Taufaahau kindly tell the Lofanga, the Haafeva, the Kotu, and other warriors to go."

And Taufaahau said, "You say for us to let go, as though this was the first time we had come to Haafuluhao (Vavau). Have we not been here since former times, and taken possession."

Then we went down to Finau and he commanded that we should raise barricades to starve out the fortress. And we cut down all kinds of trees with which to make the barricade. And we watched each other (the people of the fort and Taufaahau's warriors), and some of the Haapai warriors went scouting and caught Langikaihaa and two warriors. They were not killed, but tied and brought alive, and Taufaahau tried hard to make peace. One day he told us to remain within the fortification, for none to go outside, while he went to a place far away. They were going to call Tavake and Maheuliuli [of the enemy] to come for us to see them; and when they came out we were to come away, as if we thought there would be no war. If they came it was to be done [Tavake and Maheuliuli treacherously seized]. They came and they were told to come with me to our fortification and leave their fort. And when it was known at our fort, and their fort, that they had come, our army rushed into their fort, and pulled down the fort. Taufaahau brought Lua and the chiefs to his own house.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaau, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji.

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Taifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tukutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa.

When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 darkness they got off to a neighbouring island;
726 and early in the morning, the wind becoming
[724 more favourable, they proceeded on their voyage.

In the mean while a man ran away from the enemy's garrison, and brought information of the departure of Maccapapa to attack the Hapai expedition. Finow ordered several large canoes to put to sea immediately, in pursuit of them. This was speedily accomplished, and in the course of a few hours they came up with Maccapapa's canoes, and took ten of them. Many attempted to make their escape to the shore; but being prevented by the large canoes from proceeding to the regular landing-places, they were under the necessity of venturing their necks by climbing up steep rocks that rose almost perpendicularly from the water. In this attempt some fell and were killed. Thus were Finow's men revenged.

A fortnight now elapsed without any material circumstance occurring: almost every day, however, there was some little skirmish with the enemy; but which led to no particular result. At the end of this time, the canoes from
669 Hapai not being yet returned, Finow began
726 to turn his thoughts more seriously than ever
724 towards the large field of yams before spoken
725 of. He made preparations therefore for an at-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tack upon it: hoping that if he did not succeed in procuring some yams, he should at least be able to bring the enemy to a general engagement. With this view he picked out some of the choicest of his men, about eighty in number, and gave them orders to conceal themselves, during the night, in a thicket close to the enemy's fortress, and on one side of the road. Finow in the mean while proceeded with a party of six hundred towards Felletoa. When he arrived within a quarter of a mile of the fort, it being yet dark, he took up his station in a field of high grass, situated in a valley, which could not be seen by the enemy. He then dispatched a hundred men to dig up the yams, and fifty more, under the command of Hala Api Api, (an adopted son of the late Toobó Nuha,) to the fortress, with a view of enticing the enemy out, and leading them beyond the ambuscade. The enemy, however, kept close within his entrenchments. The fact was, there were not many men in the place, at least not great warriors, the rest having gone to another part of the island to launch a large canoe, for the purpose of bringing it round to the garrison to break up and make small ones of. But as soon as the enemy discovered Hala Api Api, they sent down to their companions at the further side of the island, to inform them of what

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 726 724 725 669 726 725 669 726

was going forward. They came as soon as they possibly could, but too late to save the yams. As soon as they arrived at the fort and saw the field of yams completely despoiled, they became dreadfully enraged, and rushed out in a body upon Hala Api Api, who immediately retreated, with a design of drawing them on beyond the two ambuscades. In this, for the most part, he succeeded to his wishes; for the enemy were so blinded by their rage, and pushed on by desire of revenge, that they did not reflect on the probability that there was some stratagem. They continued to follow, and he to retreat, till they passed the first ambush, where Finow lay concealed, and were fast advancing towards the second, when Finow's men, too eager for conquest, rose up and attacked them in the rear: the second ambush, hearing the noise of this attack, immediately started up, and joining Hala Api Api, a hard and close fight was kept up for about a quarter of an hour; when the enemy finding themselves too strongly opposed, retreated towards the fortress, in which they took shelter, being pursued close up to their doors by the Hapai warriors. Having recovered themselves a little from their consternation, they prepared to renew the combat, and again sallied forth, and commenced a general engagement with spears and arrows,

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 726 701 824 cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, *"Ta e tea tuu e toa, Iloga he vale bea hola."* "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let him who is unskilled flee."

[137] **569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau:** Tell and bring an army.

539 571 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala pea e foi ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 721 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting again to compensate for a previous defeat.

571 183 One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat. Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a previous failure.

539 725 183 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 726 194 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting; a knock-out blow.

Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 726 461 183 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the point of bringing off.

539 726 276 554 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expectations that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

Ulukalala family, and it served several chiefs as an excuse for deserting to the rebels.

On the 9th May news reached Hihifo that the rebels were advancing, supported by Finau's fleet of fifteen sail of canoes. Their plan was to shut the Royalists up in the narrow promontory of Hihifo and utterly destroy them. The rebel army, led by Mulikihaamea in person, marched on the evening of the 9th as far as Teikiu, and despatched an advance-guard to reconnoitre. Among these was Vason. This party advanced till nightfall, and then took shelter for the night in a house near the road without taking the precaution of posting sentries. The Royalists meanwhile, led by Ata, left Hihifo at four o'clock in the afternoon, halting during the night to allow a party time to push to the front. The night was very dark, and they crept forward, each holding the belt of the man in front of him. They could have slaughtered the rebel outpost as they slept, but they chose rather to pass them and take the main body by surprise at Teikiu. At daybreak the rebel outpost was surprised by the main body of the Royalists. They observed no sort of order or formation, and in a few moments they were in full flight. They rallied again at the end of the cross-road that led to the position of their main force; but the enemy, leaving a small force to keep them from effecting a junction, ran off to reinforce their comrades then engaged with Mulikihaamea. At the sight of this reinforcement the rebel army, which had been taken by surprise at daylight, was filled with dismay. Their leader tried in vain to restore confidence: they wavered and fled. In his efforts to rally them Mulikihaamea was left behind in his litter, and the

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

should be spared. They therefore retired and called to his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his litter.

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied the victorious army, had left it very early in the day, disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In one place they had come upon an old man in the act of *cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending* apparently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood and licked them. On their return to their house in Hihifo, they found that it had been looted by their own party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai, the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau, warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked them simultaneously from three points. After an obstinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. The rebels, not daring themselves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who preferred slavery to death. These became the property of their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 669 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions for his army; but he found that the country had been utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unexpected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence. He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made, and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the country for shelter, where they were struck down by the men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 669 731 The planting season had come and gone, and the constant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing year from being made. The object of every hostile expedition had been to destroy as much of the crops as possible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved insufficient to support the large number of men congregated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments, within which the people lived, not daring to resume the cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting expeditions. 175 669 266

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafulimuloa, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa. 175 669 643 [167] [712]

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au-Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel. A 175 669 669 [727]

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- 175 669 725 [713]

A /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this account -- Analyst/

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 669 725 175 669 643 622 578 cation of seeing his works burnt by Takai, his pretended ally, as he was sailing away. Tubou-malohi henceforth became a wanderer from fortress to fortress, taking refuge with his tributary chiefs, being driven out by each of his hosts in turn, until at length he became the guest of Teukava[1] in Hihifo. Unfortunately for both of them, his restless spirit could not be satisfied with inaction. They laid siege to the neighbouring fortress of Nukunuku, against the advice of their *matabules*, and in attempting to garrison it, Teukava lost his life. Emboldened by his death, his enemies attacked the fortress at Hihifo, and although they were beaten off by the bravery of its defenders, yet Tubou-malohi feared to remain there. He accordingly despatched an embassy to his younger brother, Tubou-toa, then Governor of Haapai, begging him to intercede with Finau Ulukalala to allow him to live in security at Haapai. In due course the two brothers visited Vavau, and the elder did homage to his father's murderer and his own subject. It must have been a proud moment for the usurper. Tubou-malohi lived in retirement in Haapai until 1812, leaving his kingdom of Tongatabu to the civil war and anarchy that he had been unable to repress.

175 669 634 Tubou-toa, though he had given in his adhesion to the stronger party, had not forgotten the murder of his father. He had taken a solemn vow not to drink from a cocoa-nut-shell until he had had his revenge upon Tubou Niua, and his submission to Finau, whom he knew to be equally guilty with his brother, was designed to bring him nearer

[1] This chief had a white woman, Eliza Mozer, for his wife. She was taken from the American ship Duke of Portland.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

me: not that I feared death by making you my enemy, but the vengeance of my chief, Tubou-toa, was first to be satisfied, and it was a duty I owed the spirit of my father to preserve my life as long as possible that I might have the satisfaction to see thee thus lie stinking" (dead). He then repeated the blows several times upon his stomach.

In spite of Finau's positive denial of complicity with the murderers of his brother, he did not deceive the chiefs of Vavau. In Haapai, in the centre of Finau's army, they were at a great disadvantage. When the stone was let down upon the tomb of their murdered chief, one of the assassins publicly challenged any of them to single combat; but none of them accepted, preferring to reserve their revenge. They swore allegiance to Finau upon a consecrated bowl, and received his commands to put themselves under the authority of his aunt, Toe-umu; and all, except the late chief's *matabules*, who were kept back by Finau, returned to Vavau. But a fortnight later the news came that Toe-umu herself had declared her independence of Finau, who had so treacherously allowed the death of his brother, her great friend. They had built the largest fortress ever seen in Tonga, and they were prepared to resist Finau to the death. While the preparations for an invasion of Vavau were being made, Finau's son, Moengangongo, and Vuna, the former Governor of Vavau, arrived from Samoa, where they had been absent for some years. One of their canoes, with sixty people on board and all their treasures, was lost in a gale which the other five succeeded in weathering.

Finau, in obedience to an oracle, first visited Vavau alone to endeavour to make terms with the inhabitants,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

but they would only consent to listen to him on the condition that he would cut off all communication with Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them. These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound, and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six, all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

dependence. They were the more ready to adopt the latter alternative since the priests pointed out to them that they would be surrendering not to King George—that they had already done—but to the English missionaries, who had become his Ministers of State as well as of the Gospel.

Before finally taking the field, the king made an effort to induce the priests to leave the rebels—for his foresight told him that any injury they might sustain would afford a pretext for the demands of a foreign Power for indemnity. They refused, however, to leave the fort, probably feeling that the desertion of their friends on the approach of danger would destroy their prestige beyond repair. The courage they showed in braving the dangers of a siege by a stronger party, with the prospect of the horrors of savage victory at the close, compares favourably with the conduct of their rivals who fled the island in 1840, and deserves something better than the sneers that have been heaped upon them by the Wesleyan missionaries.

On March 1st the king distributed muskets among his chiefs, and formally declared war. After two slight skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought near Bea, with considerable loss on both sides, but without decisive result. On the 14th the Roman Catholic Bishop of Samoa arrived in a French ship-of-war to inquire into the cause of the war, and left again with the avowed intention of bringing help for the beleaguered priests from Tahiti. On the 12th of April the king closely invested Bea, by throwing up four earthworks at different points of the fortification, garrisoning them with a total force of 10,000 men. He

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

411 for an expected contest. The old weapons of the
411 country have, however, been greatly supplanted, by
179 the introduction of European arms and ammuni-
[125] tion; and there has been a consequent change from
[126] many of the former tactics and practices of heathen warfare. "Musket balls do not know chiefs," was the lament of a grey-headed old chief, as he marched past the writer to battle, with swaggering gait, and kindling eye, swinging his great club round his head as if it had been a cane, and evidently longing for a hand-to-hand encounter with some like-minded opponent. There was no little amount of truth, too, in what he repeated a few minutes afterwards, "Musket balls may do for boys, but clubs are the weapons of men." In the
702 organization of their armies, and in the tactics they
[701] pursued, the Tonguese exhibited considerable skill.
[125] In any war of magnitude, a universal conscription was enforced, in which none were excused from following their leaders to the field, but those incapacitated by age or bodily infirmity. All were drilled in the use of arms, and were accustomed to the practice of warlike exercises. When preparing
541 for war, a general review of troops was usually
703 held before the king, or leader, in which the intending combatants swore fealty to their commander, and pledged themselves to deeds of prowess on his behalf. This was done by each of the party rushing, with frantic energy and fierce gesticulations, in front of the chief, flourishing and then grounding his weapon: while uttering at the same time the most ridiculous and empty boasts of what the individual would do in the coming conflict.
712 The Tonguese were in the habit of constructing very complete, strong, and well-arranged fortifications,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from whence their fighting excursions were made. In besieging such places, they well understood the method of approaching by trenches, and rifle-pits, defended by earthworks and strong stockades. They were also well versed in the science of strategy, and knew no mercy to the vanquished who fell into their hands. The contending parties seldom met in a general engagement. The strife was usually a series of skirmishes. Those taken in war, whose lives were spared, became the *bobulas*, or slaves, of the conquerors; and these were often treated with the most refined and horrible cruelty, at the caprice of their proprietor.

In times of peace, the men were fully occupied in the various pursuits of agriculture, fishing, sinnet-plaiting, canoe and house building, and, above all, in voyaging. The women devoted themselves to the unceasing manufacture of the *fetaaki*, or white beaten bark, of which the native cloth was made, and to the completion of the process in those *kokaagas*, or united gatherings of the female sex, where the cloth was fashioned into one immense piece, and then printed in brown and black colours, according to the fancy of the maker. The women did no field or house drudgery in the Friendly Islands. They never even cooked the victuals of the family, that being always the duty of the men. In addition to the manufacture of *gatu*, or native cloth, their chief work was to bring water from the wells; make all the sleeping and wearing mats for both sexes; also baskets and bags for various purposes, and any other little nick-nacks for household use. Feasts, dances, games, wrestling matches, and canoe races, filled up much of the time of the people. Some of these

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

that this sad and deplorable war were brought to an end.

These extracts from our Journal will sufficiently indicate the horrors, and daily alarms, through which all the Mission families passed, during several months. But perhaps our state at Hihifo was less enviable than that of our brethren at Nukualofa and Mua. The Mission residences there were enclosed within the fortifications of the towns, whereas ours stood outside, and were therefore exposed to the secret approach of any bold prowling heathen, who might fancy to burn down the place, in the dead of night. Of such attention we received many warnings; and were kept by these in a state of continual alarm and watchfulness. When, however, the Hihifo people had so matured their plans as to cut off the Houmans from all outward communications, and from all intercourse with their allies at Bea, we then felt comparatively safe.

The Houmans were the first to yield before the king's power. It was known that only one thing had, for a long time, sustained their courage and hopes. They had heard that one of the Romish priests at Bea had sailed in a ship bound for Tahiti, with the avowed purpose of obtaining the interference and assistance of a French ship of war, on behalf of the heathen and Roman Catholic rebels, under the cloak, of course, of rendering protection to the French priests and their property. As might have been expected, the departure of the officious priest only hurried matters to a speedier conclusion. Although aware of the priest's purpose, the king offered no objection to his depar-

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

cause'.[66] He led his warriors in prayer before both Hule and Ngele'ia, and the prayers he offered immediately before the assault upon Hule filled his warriors, many of them teacher-preachers, with an emotional thrill which they later likened to their experiences 'when the revival of religion broke out'.[67] Some years later King George urged the Samoans not to fight among themselves, pointing out that whereas in Tonga Christians had been fighting heathens, in Samoa Christians were fighting Christians.[68] When Tucker spoke to King George about the bloody battle at Hule the chief told the missionary that he

> had no intention whatever when marching to the place to destroy the women and children, but gave orders to save them—but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword—he said he believed it was the just judgement of God upon the people of that place.[69]

This 'impulse from heaven'[70] to put all to the sword bears a striking resemblance to the contents of the books King George had been reading in school and the sermons he had been hearing from the pulpit for some considerable time before the outbreak of hostilities in 1837.[71] His tactics during the war followed the biblical pattern. Like Jehosophat he had prayed with his people before battle.[72] He divided his army into three divisions as Saul had done when fighting the Ammorites;[73] he pursued his enemies and destroyed them as David had done;[74] after routing the enemy he, like the Biblical king, collected the spoils.[75] Father Chevron's charge that the Wesleyans broke the teeth of heathen opponents recalls the Psalms reader: 'Thou has broken the teeth of the ungodly'.[76]

[66] Brooks to Secretaries, 17 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145).
[67] Stephen Rabone, Journal, 17 Jan. 1837, ML, MSS 47.
[68] Peter Turner, Journal, 2 Apr. 1848, ML, B309.
[69] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). The influence of the *lotu* literature (scripture and other books) appears to have been underestimated by the church historians of Tonga who have tended to explain the behaviour of the Christians in 1837 in terms of a lapse into heathenism. Even if Tāufa'āhau reverted to the practices of traditional warfare he was able to do so with the full sanction of the new teaching.
[70] Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150).
[71] It may be possible to explain Tāufa'āhau's tactics in other terms but their resemblance to the biblical pattern is remarkable.
[72] Brookes, Journal, 16 Jan. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence, (ANL, mf M145); II Chronicles xx, 18
[73] Tucker, Journal, 15 Feb. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela* xi, 11.
[74] Tucker, Journal, 22 Mar. 1837, WMMS, Inwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M145). *Ko e Same* xviii, 37.
[75] Thomas, MS History of Tonga, p 1078 (ANL, mf M165); II Chronicles xx, 25.
[76] Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga, 11 July 1842, quoted in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, XV (1843) 431; Letter from P. Chevron, Tonga-Tabou, 24 June 1843, quoted in *Annales . . .*, XVII (1845), 98; *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, iii, 7.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1840]

The arrival of Taufa'ahau relieved Fo'ui, and this was followed by his offer of peace to Ata. The reply was that Taufa'ahau himself should enter Kolovai, the rebel fortress, for these discussions and should take with him only a very few followers. Before he could do this a deserter from Kolovai came with the news that a plot had been made to kill Taufa'ahau as soon as he entered the fort. Subsequently Ata admitted that this was true.(64)

It was under these circumstances that Taufa'ahau and his men advanced against Kolovai, but forbore to attack it at once. He addressed his men with these words:

> "We did wrong in the last war" (1837) "when we did not fight as Christians; then our object was more to kill than to save. Now, I tell you all that we must not fight in that way again. If the enemy come out of their fort to-morrow morning, every man must try to seize and save them, but not to shoot or strike, except in a case of life or death." (65)

During the siege the mission-house, which had been built by Thomas in 1826 and stood outside the Kolovai fort, was burnt by the rebels. For more than a fortnight after the siege began no attack was made. Taufa'ahau sent messages to Ata making it clear that no one was obliged to accept Christianity and only peace itself was desired. At last he told his men to invite any of their relatives or friends within the fort to leave. So many accepted this invitation that, when the besieged moved forward to the attack, the reduced garrison surrendered immediately and opened the gate. All the 500 defenders of Kolovai, together with their property, were spared. On 29 February, three days after the surrender, Rabone visited Ata and his wife; he reported,

> "They appeared to feel their situation but are thankful for their lives, for well they know that. had George been still heathen, few of them would have been alive this day." (66)

The rebels still at arms at Pea and elsewhere numbered 1,400. Taufa'ahau's army was 900 strong. As the rebels, especially at Pea, were still defiant and Aleamotu'a's position was far from secure, Taufa'ahau remained in Tongatapu. Travellers along the roads and men working in their gardens were frequently ambushed and killed by parties from the fort at Pea.

The next important event was the visit of Commodore Charles Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, who arrived at Nuku'alofa with two ships of his squadron on 24 April 1840. Upon his arrival Rabone and Tucker went on board his ship, *Vincennes*, and discussed the unsettled state of Tongatapu with him. "He expressed an earnest desire to make peace between the contending parties," Tucker said. The following day the Commodore and officers came ashore and met Aleamotu'a and Taufa'ahau with their chiefs. Wilkes remarked on the martial appearance of the whole party and thought it inconsistent with a desire for peace. He could hardly be expected to know the typical Tongan habit of making a good showing before visitors; but he was told that, in fact, an attack had been made by the rebels the night before and that preparations were on foot to repel any further attack, hence the appearance of Taufa'ahau's forces.

The Commodore brought a written document which proposed a meeting between the leaders of both parties, and the two kings agreed to this. Rabone, however, thought the American visitor too sanguine through his ignorance of the state of affairs:

> "No one who heard him (except it may be his officers) believes for a moment that the heathen chiefs would meet Josiah and George." (67)